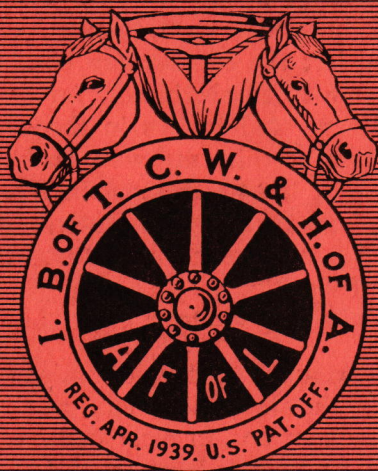


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JUNE, 1941

Official Magazine
**INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD
TEAMSTERS - CHAUFFEURS
WAREHOUSEMEN & HELPERS
of AMERICA**



WHAT a glorious thing it is to go to bed at night and not be afraid that you and your family and your household will be destroyed by shells from enemy nations before morning. Every man and woman in the conquered nations of Europe is under the lash of the conquerors and in the peaceful countries of France, Holland and Belgium, men and women that were free two years ago are today working for just enough food to keep them alive. The greatest portion of what they produce is turned over to the conqueror so that his armies of destruction can be kept on the march.

THERE never was in my time any more bitter feeling in Washington against unions than there is at the present time, because of the actions of unions and because of what is considered unnecessary strikes and stoppages of work. It is true that feeling rests with the minority and the heads of the government will not line up with this minority unless Labor forces them to do so. Don't misunderstand my statements. I am fully aware that employers are not entirely blameless in some of the things that have happened, including stoppages of work. We just settled a strike in Detroit in the building material line which should never have taken place. It was a victory for our union, but the controversy obtained because one large building supply employer refused obstinately for several years to do business with our union. He wanted to live in the ages past. The General President called the action of this employer, backed by certain financial interests, to the attention of the government in Washington, and they got busy and eventually, through their representatives, brought about a settlement. Suppose we had a government that refused to become interested—what would happen then?

BUSINESS AGENTS and salaried officers of unions are going to be held mainly responsible by the state and federal governments for the actions of their members as time goes on. In most instances paid representatives of local unions are in a position to stop trouble. In some few instances they are not strong enough to stop the rank and file, but in those instances where they fail or where they are unable to protect the rank and file from themselves, they should notify the International Office of such failure.

• OFFICIAL MAGAZINE •

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Daniel J. Tobin, Editor

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Union Man and Card Holder

There is a distinction between a
"union man" and a "card holder." A
union man knows that his member-
ship in a labor union means better
wages and more sensible working con-
ditions for himself, but he also knows
that these advantages can only be re-
tained by co-operation with all other
men and women and by the purchase
of the products made under union
conditions. A card holder knows the
advantages of union membership but
cares not a whit for the welfare of his
fellow workers in another industry
nor whether there is a market for
union-made products save his own.
This shortsightedness on his part en-
dangers his own security, but it seems
difficult to impress him with this
fact.—*C. Roy Heinrichs.*

New Industries Urged for Peace Time

Immediate research action to find
new products and new industries to
cushion "the dangerous shock" of
transformation from intensive de-
fense production to peace time busi-
ness was urged by William L. Batt,
National Defense Advisory Commis-
sion official, who told the Scrap Iron
and Steel Institute, in Baltimore, that
problems after the war "will be vastly
more grave than you can imagine. I
do not believe the nation ever again
will stand for ten or twelve million
unemployed."



EDITORIAL



(By DANIEL J. TOBIN)

THE following advice and instructions are conveyed to our officers and members in these days of agitation and seeming disturbance in the Labor Movement:

First, you must observe your signed contracts to the letter. Labor unions that fail to carry out their signed contracts cannot stay in affiliation with this International Union. Our reputation has been built up because we have kept our word of honor, our sacred and binding promise to carry out our contracts, just the same as we insist that the employers carry out and observe their contracts with us. Some of our local unions seem to be getting a little nervous because of the great noise made by the Auto Workers, the United Mine Workers, and the Steel Workers, and their tendency towards getting increases in wages. Bear in mind that those organizations in most instances have been working for wages far below yours, and next, that sixty per cent of those people, up until this war boom took place, were out of work. As an example, the steel industry, which is now working one hundred per cent capacity, was only working thirty-two per cent capacity for many years during the depression. In other words, there were only thirty-two per cent of the men engaged in that employment working in the years between 1932 and 1939. The automobile industry has done much better, but still those people, many of them highly skilled, are not averaging the wages of the average truck driver. And unfortunately—and I believe this condition will continue—they only have certain periods of employment; two seasons of the year in which they work, and with almost the same amount of time in which they do not work. The coal mining industry is an older organization and it is a great victory for those coal miners to be able to get \$1.00 a day, or \$5.00 a week, increase. Let us examine their wages. Up until now they were getting \$6.00 for an eight-hour day in the north. In the south they were getting around \$5.80. By this increase they are to get \$7.00 a day, which makes them about \$35.00 per week; that is, when they work. A great many of the coal miners are piece-workers and this increase applies only to day labor. Now then, if you remember, the United Mine Workers asked for a guarantee of two hundred days per year. The operators refused because they cannot see how they can guarantee two hundred days per year of work to the average mine worker. Where would the average truck driver be if he only got two hundred days per year? The mine workers do not even get this except in years in which we are engaged in a national defense program or a war, such as at the present time. There are some of us who remember what happened to the miners in the last war and what the after results were. The mine workers were able to raise their wages, under the Jacksonville Agreement, to \$6.50 a day. At the ending of the war the operators could not pay this scale, and the worst strike in the history of that employment obtained. That strike nearly blew up the miners' union. Lawsuits were entered against them. Want and misery and hunger prevailed everywhere. Dissension within their ranks obtained. All of which we regret because it weakened the rest of the Labor Movement; and that happened as a result of the fact that they raised their wages—so it was claimed by the operators—too high during the period of continuous employment during the war. Things are

a little different now and under the Guffey Act the government boards establish what they believe is a fair rate for coal, giving the operators sufficient for their coal to meet the cost of production plus a reasonable profit on their investment. Consequently the increase granted the miners, which is not too much in our opinion, will eventually come out of the public because the government board created under the Guffey Act has the power, as we understand the law, to set the price of coal, including the increase in wages. This is not true of the automobile industry but it is somewhat true of the steel industry because the enormous amount of steel presently purchased, and the increase in wages to the steel workers will be added to the price cost. The point we are trying to make is this; that your wages now, as a result of gradual increases through the years, are much higher because your employment is more continuous than the wages of those organizations that for years had to depend on the charity of their employers. The miners' Jacksonville Agreement referred to above, brought about a condition after the ending of the war which it was impossible to meet on the part of employers. Factories shut down; railroads were demoralized; there was no consumption of coal. The miners are great strikers, splendid union men. They made a gallant fight but they could not accomplish the impossible, and finally they were forced to capitulate and accept, after nearly a year's struggle, a reduction in wages to about \$5.00 per day in the South and \$5.25 or \$5.50 in other districts. The Miners' Union then for a number of years tried to rehabilitate their organization and did the very best it was humanly possible for them to do, but at the beginning of 1933 they were still in a very weak and disheartened condition, with their national treasury depleted and with their membership somewhat discouraged, and with factionalism of the worst kind obtaining within their membership. The present administration in Washington, first through the enactment of the NRA, little as it amounted to, gave courage to the mine workers. They began to organize and to rebuild. Then there was passed the so-called Guffey Act, named after Senator Joseph Guffey of Pennsylvania, which established a board which practically compelled the mine operators to unionize their mines and to improve the conditions of the mine workers. And for that they would be guaranteed, under the Guffey Act, reasonable returns on their investment; and those operators who refused to go along would not get the same consideration as those who did that which was just and honest. What we are leading to is this: The Mine Workers' Organization today is perhaps one of the strongest unions in this country, all through the progressive legislation enacted since 1933. They not only have the check-off, where dues are collected by the bookkeepers of the mine operators, but they have the closed shop agreement in every place in this country where coal is mined. No such condition pertaining to miners obtains anywhere, even in England, the original home of organized mine workers, because in England the mine workers cannot go on strike until there is an investigation, running over a period of two or three months, by governmental boards, and until all means of bringing about a settlement have been tried and failed. Before this war started, England had almost practiced compulsory arbitration, or something similar to it, in connection with coal miners. This kind of legislation was brought about as a result of what might be termed in our language an unnecessary general strike in England in 1926.

Even if the mine worker in America now gets \$7.00 per day, can any of us who know the dangers surrounding mining say that that is too much? Then take into consideration that he works less than two hundred days a

year in normal times. With railroads becoming electrified and burning oil and with homes using oil and gas for heating purposes—with all the modern changes it is questionable whether in future normal times the mine worker will get two hundred days a year. But what we are fearful of is this: Will the operators again attempt to do what they did after the last war, reduce wages? And will the mine workers be compelled to fight for the maintenance of their organization? We hope not. But you can rest assured that employments that force wages too high, higher than the industry can stand, when they reach the top of the mountain there is nothing else left except to descend—we repeat, those wages will have to go back. The cost of living has only slightly increased in the last year. If we can hold down the cost of living—as I am expecting we will—there will be no substantial justice in unreasonably forcing up wages. In the last war, those of us who went through that period remember that the cost of living was forced beyond all reason by profiteers and racketeers who controlled prices, especially foodstuff and rents. Sugar sold as high as twenty cents a pound. It is now selling for five cents a pound. And so it was all down the line; rents, clothing, everything went up. It was necessary to raise wages. That condition has not yet appeared in our American life and that condition—I repeat—if it can be prevented, will help to keep wages reasonable, because we must always keep in mind that an industry can only stand just so much, and with taxes almost on the verge of being doubled, and in some instances perhaps more than doubled, the men in industry, running the business of the nation, must be allowed to make something on their investment, to obtain something for their time and energy. In other words, those who are engaged in business and industry cannot be pushed too far by unreasonable demands. Unfortunately many of our people do not realize this condition. They think that when labor is scarce on the market they can just take hold of an employment and squeeze the very life out of it by making unreasonable demands. Employers, on the other hand, who have only recently been trained to realize that they must deal humanly and honestly with their workers—they too are the cause of a great deal of misery by their unfair attitude.

We recently had an experience in the milk industry in Houston, Texas, where the employers put their backs against the wall and refused to allow the union to live. They crushed the union. But there is another day coming. Those men will organize again and will pay them back. The old story contained in the Bible unfortunately still is true to life—"An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth." That's the story today in Europe, especially in Russia.

Neither Labor nor employers can, because they believe they have the power, crush the opposite side, lest they be crushed in turn when the time comes. Observe your signed agreements. Carefully weigh the demands that you are about to make when you begin to renew your contract, and watch carefully the poisonous agitators within your unions, who are sent there for the purpose of creating discontent, dissension, and trouble leading to strikes which bring about demoralization of the home of the individual and of the industry.

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THESE are dangerous days for the Labor Movement of America. Our people must keep their heads, no matter what happens. Strikes should be avoided as much as possible, and men should remember that there are other days coming. Strikes in defense projects will not be permitted with-

out the consent and approval of the International Executive Board, because we want a chance to get into it before the government is tied up. First, last, and all the time we are Americans, and we have more to lose should our system of government and the freedom of our country be jeopardized, than any other class of Americans. The workers are the life-blood of the nation, but this country, its history and its civilization, is our life-blood. Better for us to die, if called upon, to preserve this freedom, than to live in slavery; because that's what is going to obtain should those monsters who are now trampling over the freedom of the world, succeed in destroying our form of government. The Labor Movement has been destroyed in every country in the world with the exception of Great Britain. Today in Great Britain rules are set aside and the Labor Movement is fighting and dying and suffering to preserve the freedom they have won. By the time you read this Journal it is questionable whether or not they will be able to continue the fight. One thing is certain; and that is that they are fighting our fight, and unless they win, we cannot survive as a union or as free men. We may struggle on for a few years but we cannot fight and win against the whole world. The trade of the world will be conquered, as well as the freedom of the world. Therefore, let us keep our heads cool, keep collected, do our own thinking, and when we are in doubt as to our procedure, let these thoughts fill our minds and our hearts: First, is there any other country that enjoys the freedom or the safety that we now enjoy and have enjoyed in recent years? Second is that freedom and safety and liberty and condition of life going to be ours to the end, or is it in danger of being destroyed? Third, if we believe it is in danger are we willing to make sacrifices to preserve it and protect it? Differences of opinion will obtain. Brother will be perhaps set against brother. But our nation will not be destroyed and our liberty will survive if that determination and unity prevail amongst the workers of the nation that I believe will prevail if our freedom and our liberties are threatened. Keep your heads. Try to keep informed, every one of you, as to the actual conditions obtaining. I want to leave this message with you for your guidance, and I would not leave it if I did not believe it was necessary—and that message is: The inside leaders of our government are not painting the picture nearly as bad as it really exists. Our governmental leaders do not want to frighten our people or discourage them, or keep them from enjoying themselves; and they are holding certain information back because they believe it is best to hold it back. But I want to say to you in my humble way—and I say it knowing the seriousness of the statement—that the picture is much worse than the government would desire it to be and much worse than the average American understands it to be. And it is growing worse from day to day. But whatever happens, let us keep our heads and remain united; and if we can possibly avoid it let us not embarrass our government by stopping work unless we are compelled to do so; and as stated in the beginning of this article, on defense jobs of any kind don't stop work until you have orders from the heads of your organization who are in contact with the General Executive Board; because let me remind you that the heads of your organization are held responsible for any inconvenience to our government at the present time in its defense program.

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WE ARE exceptionally sorry for the verdict against Joseph Schenck, rendered recently by a Federal Court in New York. He was one of the committee that dealt with Labor in the studios of Hollywood. In our meet-

ings with him in the past he has always been fair and very progressive. It is another proof—if we need any more proof—that money, position or anything else cannot influence the present Federal Judiciary or the administration when one is guilty of violating or breaking the law. Joseph Schenck is worth perhaps several million dollars, but the publicity—not to speak of the conviction in this case—is too much of a price to pay for the success he has had in life. Some of the biggest men in our country, including Mr. Annenberg, another millionaire; Tom Pendergast, the political power of Kansas City, and others, have been convicted, sentenced and disgraced as a result of their endeavor to cheat the law or the government out of what legally and lawfully belonged to it. I know that the government is now investigating many others for violations of the law, especially the income tax law. Under the present law you nor I nor anyone else can have access to the private income tax report sent in by any individual. Of course there are persons in the Income Tax Division of the Federal Government who see your report, and there are also others in Washington who have access to the files. But outsiders, enemies, or even Congressmen or Senators, cannot see your private report to the government on your income. As I understand the law, one must have special permission from the President of the United States, or an order from the President to Mr. Helvering, the commissioner in charge of income tax returns, before he can see the income tax report of any individual. The Department of Justice, of course, can get such an order. Also it is safe to say that any person of influence who can prove he has special legal reasons for finding out the income tax of an individual, can possibly obtain an order from the President to see the report of the individual with whom he is connected, or who is in his service, or a person who has to do with public affairs. However, the President of the United States can refuse the order to any individual, even to the Department of Justice; but it is safe to say that the President, in the interest of law and justice, does not make such refusals.

This is the message I want to convey: that it is not impossible to find a way to look over the income tax report of an individual providing the reasons for doing so are reasonable and legal and that the person seeking information is reputable and law-abiding. It is very foolish, therefore, for any individual, no matter how big he is financially or politically, and no matter what legal advice he has to the contrary, to believe he can keep his income tax returns absolutely secret and free from legal procedure, especially from the government. The investigation of Tom Pendergast came about in a very simple way. Disagreements among the political leaders in the district first started suspicion, and then enormous losings at the race track, and inquiries as to where the money came from—step by step the government began and then found the answer. The same is true of Joe Schenck. An outside case altogether, dealing with some labor questions, brought about investigation into the income of Joe Schenck and then the checking up on his income tax report. And so it was with Mr. Annenberg. And the pity of it is that when it is too late all those caught in the net began to realize how helpless and how foolish they were. The government also looks into other individuals. They get a slight suspicion of some certain person; then the clever investigators of the Internal Revenue Department begin their work, and after two or three years they have a complete

case established which is impossible to break down. They look into the salary paid to an individual, to the manner in which he and his wife and family are living, or what he is accumulating out of that salary, and it may be sometimes two or three years before the individual finds out that the Internal Revenue Division is working on his case. And after they get started the disclosures may lead to something or they may lead to nothing. The better way, the only way, the sure way, is to live within the law and to make your income tax return honestly. I repeat, it is impossible for anyone to in any way influence the federal government towards mitigating or giving sympathetic consideration to an individual proven guilty of violations of this or any other federal law. All the hope and sentiment expressed, pitying the individual, have no effect on those who are administering the law. Money and power and influence can no longer save a person under this administration, no matter what such power and influence was able to do in the years that are past. Keep within the law. Hide nothing in making your tax report.

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IN LUNCHING with the President a short time ago, I was surprised at his splendid appearance. He is full of life and energy. Of course he is worried about the serious world conditions. But his great mental capacity and fine training is real proof that the world statesman "can take it."

— • —

HEREWITH is printed, for the information of our general membership, the answer of the General President in a letter to the Editor of FORTUNE magazine. We would gladly publish the article from FORTUNE magazine but they have notified us they will not permit us to do so, because they claim we would be violating their copyright. Our judgment is that they do not want our members and their families, who receive our magazine, to read what they have written about us. FORTUNE magazine sells for one dollar a copy and has a circulation of about 150,000, we are advised. It is patronized by and obtains advertisements from the rich corporations of America, most of whom are enemies of Labor. Very few working people, if any, purchase FORTUNE magazine.

Some Labor men believe in letting publications of this kind get away without taking any notice of their misinformation and misstatements. The General President of your International Union does not agree with that policy. He believes that failure to answer an institution or publication of this kind is an admission of guilt of the charges contained against both individuals and against the International Union as a whole. When editors of publications of this kind find they cannot get away with their false statements, other editors are a little more careful of what they write in the future.

We are also publishing in this issue a letter from Matthew Woll, Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor, and for many years General President of the Photo Engravers' International Union, and now President of the Union Labor Life Insurance Company. We have received many letters of this kind. This is a sample of how the men of Labor appreciate the position of your Editor and General President on this matter.

Daniel J. Tobin Replies to Fortune Magazine's Misleading And Untruthful Statements

Editors of FORTUNE Magazine,
Time and Life Building,
Rockefeller Center,
New York, N. Y.
Gentlemen:

May 2, 1941.

I have just read your lengthy article on the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, appearing in the May issue of FORTUNE magazine. After reading same over twice, I am at a loss to understand its purpose or its message, or any moral that it contains. I have talked with several newspaper men and writers, most of whom disagree with me politically, economically and religiously, and I have asked them to give me their opinion on this article. It has been their unanimous expression that it is the most confusing literary jumble that they have read in recent years, especially when it comes from one of the supposedly leading monthly publications of this country.

Don't misunderstand me. I am not sore, because I am used to this thing. The price of unjust misunderstanding and unfair interpretation of a labor leader's actions is what he pays for being chosen to lead, by his fellow workers. But I am seriously and depressingly disappointed. We did not expect any eulogy, flattery or praise from FORTUNE magazine or its management, but as ordinary working men who believe in justice and fair play and who have endeavored to instill the principle of decency and honesty into those whom we represent and with whom we come in contact, we did expect FORTUNE magazine—which had the facts placed at its disposal—to be truthful in its expressions. We fully understand that FORTUNE magazine, like others, must keep out of the red and must write material somewhat pleasing to its very wealthy contributors and advertisers. But even those people want the truth, even though the truth sometimes is distinctly opposite the policy pursued by individuals interested in your publication.

In this article the writer began by handing out a lot of soft soap. As Ramsay McDonald once said in the House of Commons to the Tories—now called the Conservative Party—"You can't get away eternally with handing the workers of England some sentimental flap-doodle." You speak about the International Brotherhood of Teamsters being a great, powerful organization and you refer to the conservative attitude of its present officers; and then on page 96, below the picture of the truck drivers having coffee and hamburgers, you state, "... The union that has lifted them out of 'serfdom' is wealthy. It has over \$6,000,000 on hand, mainly accumulated through the years out of new members' initiation fees and out of weekly dues, which run from \$2 to \$5." This is, of course, either with intent or without intent, a deliberate falsehood. There is no local union of the Teamsters that charges from \$2.00 to \$5.00 weekly dues. The highest dues I know of in any local union is \$5.00 per month, and there are only two local unions of the International Union that charge \$5.00 per month dues, and they pay \$1,000 death benefit and \$20.00 per week sick or unemployment benefits. But what you have attempted to do is to show that the International Union charges from \$2.00 to \$5.00 per week, because you refer to the wealth of the International Union in the preceding lines.

Your representative who came to our national headquarters was given free access to all our information and to the books of the International

Union if said representative so desired. It is clearly stated in the Constitution of the International Union—a copy of which was handed to your representative—that the dues (which are called per capita tax) to the International Union, for each member, is one cent a day or thirty cents a month. That is not \$2.00 to \$5.00 per week. And a clear account was given of what was done with that money—that the International Union paid \$10.00 a week strike benefits; that it paid for organizers and adjusters; that it had recently established a Statistical Department in Washington, D. C., as well as maintaining a Legislative Department; and that three cents of the thirty cents per month was paid to the American Federation of Labor, to the Building Trades Department and the Label Trades Department to help maintain those institutions; which left the International Union only twenty-seven cents per month per member. All this was explained but you very carefully refrained from telling the facts. What you should have done if you had acted justly was to show how an International Union, paying its legal obligations and being confronted each month with an enormous printing bill, was able to save, by careful management, an amount of nearly seven million dollars from such small contributions; and the International Brotherhood of Teamsters is perhaps the most militant of any organization of labor in this or any other country.

During the course of the article you speak of Dave Beck, a General Organizer for the International Union in the western district, and you endeavor to insinuate that he is such a boss, a dictator, that you threw out the impression that he is anything but an honest, decent, God-fearing representative of Labor. Dave Beck has worked under my direction and supervision. I appointed him as a General Organizer. He can be discharged at a moment's notice. I prevailed upon him to go to work for the International Union when the employers at that time offered him twice the salary that we were able to pay him. It was shortly after he returned from the fields of France, where he had been in the service of his country in the aviation division. You failed pitifully, and perhaps willfully, to say those things although they were the bare truth. Beck is a clean living, decent, honorable man, a respectable father, and every employer that I have ever met with whom he has done business, has expressed himself in almost this same identical language.

Then you refer to Les Goudie, another General Organizer, in the Chicago district, and in dealing with the organization of department store drivers you say, "... several years ago a number of State Street drivers started to organize on their own, and when some of them went to Mr. Goudie and asked for Teamsters' support, he ordered them to stop their efforts and told them he would organize them himself when he got good and ready." That is not the truth, and you could easily find that out by asking Mr. Goudie or any of his associates in Chicago; or you could get the information from the Mayor's office, the State Attorney's office, or from the present Governor of Illinois.

Then you jump out to the coast and you refer to the beloved Mike Casey, under the sacrilegious or gangster nickname of "Bloody Mike." I appointed Mike Casey as an organizer. He worked under my direction for twenty-seven years up and down the coast from one end to the other. Before he was employed by me he was the representative of his local union, and before that he was a member—and afterwards Chairman—of the Board of Public Works of San Francisco, and had the cleanest record of any man that ever held a similar office. During the time of Schmidt and McCarthy as Mayors of San Francisco, Casey's record was clean. During

the awful earthquake and fire catastrophe he was No. 1 man to the head of the military forces then in charge of that city during that awful time. Every employer in San Francisco that ever knew Casey spoke of him as a man of honor and decency as well as courage. At his death an oration was delivered by John Francis Neylon, one of the leading corporation lawyers in California. That oration was a tribute unexcelled by any other citizen of that State, a tribute of respect paid to a great man. I never knew him to be called "Bloody Mike" and I knew him and those around him intimately. It might have been insinuated by the poisonous pen of the writers hired by Harrison Gray Otis in the *Los Angeles Times*. The son of Mike Casey is now working for the International Union, highly educated and well trained. Another son is Chief Engineer of the city of San Francisco. A daughter is a Superior in the Convent. Do you think you are doing justice to this honorable family and to that deceased gentleman by calling him "Bloody Mike"? Even your subscribers who knew this man will detest and abhor such an unjust expression.

You gleaned from the proceedings of our convention a point of order raised by some delegate from New York and you try to magnify it for the purpose of trying to show there was dissension in that convention. For your information let me state that at that convention the galleries were open to the public and special seats and tables in front of the rostrum were reserved for the press, and during all the proceedings not one word of disrespect or one statement that could be regarded as ungentlemanly escaped from any of the delegates. You might also desire to know that there were two new men added to the Board to increase its membership, and that from the President down to the lowest officer subject to election, not one candidate had any opposition. Also, our Constitution was so amended that it is now held up and copied and reproduced by many other labor organizations. There was no disharmony, and whether your political or economic prejudices may be responsible for the untruths in the article, it is difficult to understand what purpose there is in such misstatements of facts.

You seem to emphasize and elaborate quite a little on my wealth and my salary. As a matter of fact, if you could look over my income tax report you would find out about my wealth. I am like the colored man who, when asked to change a five-dollar bill, said, "I thanks you for the compliment just the same." I wish you were telling the truth, providing my wealth were obtained honestly. That is the only way I desire any money. But that is my private affair. I might say, however, that millions of dollars belonging to the International Union have been in my charge and keeping, also millions of dollars of the American Federation of Labor—as I was Treasurer of that organization for eleven years—and not one penny was ever lost in any kind of investment or bank. Although this information was given to your representative, you fail to state that for a number of years in my early days I worked for the International Union for very low wages—one hundred dollars a month and two dollars a day hotel expenses when away from headquarters. I nearly starved to death, because I had a wife and six children. All six of the children I put through college, but again that is my private affair. That would not be news. It would not satiate the thirst of the enemies of Labor who read FORTUNE. If my salary were computed from the time I began to work for the International Union, I assure you it would be far below that received by many of those working in your executive department, although I have had to be a banker, to understand the philosophy of printing—as we spend large amounts of

money in printing—also to fully understand the responsibility of a writer, as I have been Editor of our official magazine for thirty-four years and not one dollar has ever been paid for any written material although I was at liberty to do so. Also I have to have knowledge and general understanding of legal procedure so that I might advise our people. Also I must understand how to handle negotiations and present them to governmental tribunals, such as the Interstate Commerce Commission. And I must have the ability to address public meetings, deliver radio addresses, and innumerable other requirements that are demanded of the head of this International Union. For these reasons, in later years the International Union has very generously remunerated me because they have decided that on a basis of justice I was poorly paid for many, many years. So much for the emphasis you have placed on my salary. (I hate to use the pronoun "I" but you compel me to do so, as you refer to me so continuously.)

All through the article you do not deny that my whole life has been directed towards fair play, conservative, decent treatment of employers, lawful procedure, etc., and then you go on to say that I have consistently been able to find out Communists and to put them out of the International Union; and you wind up the article—in dealing with the subject of racketeers within the union—by stating in the last paragraph:

"Mr. Tobin will be doing himself and the members—not to mention the public—a great dis-service if he continues to fail. If Mr. Tobin is unequal to the challenge, then the rank and file must act, and this is perhaps the most realistic solution. The task will be hard and will require vigilance and courage. But for the Teamsters' and all other unions such vigilance and such courage may well be the price of liberty."

By the above you not only insinuate carefully that my whole service to our membership has been a failure, but you invite the rank and file to act, to the end that they select someone different from me, someone, I assume, who will stand for Communism and radicalism, and someone who does not believe in and enforce collective conservatism and fair dealing with members and employers; and you base your reasoning on the fact that one or two racketeers have been found guilty of crime by Tom Dewey in New York, men who were members of one or two of our small unions, but you leave out the 997 other unions which have no racketeers; and you carefully avoid giving the information that even as far back as 1909 in January in the city of New York, I was beaten and left for dead because I was then, even at that time, endeavoring to eliminate racketeers from the unions of New York. And you carefully leave out the information given to your representative that during my administration, as far back as twenty-four years ago, in Chicago, the International Executive Board and the following convention, on my recommendation, expelled from the International Union over ten thousand members because of wrongdoing within their organization in Chicago. And while you refer to State's Attorney Courtney rendering service to the International Union in Chicago, you carefully omit stating that neither Courtney nor any other public official could do anything if they were not substantially aided and helped by the International Union. While we do not depreciate the splendid service rendered by Mr. Courtney and his office in Chicago, we hold this: that when the International Union consented to take back those who were outside, we insisted that Mr. Courtney and his office pass on every man and officer, in order to be sure that no undesirables were admitted. The outlaw Coal Teamsters of Chicago tied up the city of Chicago by strike when it was

four degrees below zero. Mayor Kelly appealed to us to help by issuing a charter, and we did, thereby saving Chicago from any such condition occurring again.

Gentlemen, believe me when I write to you and say that personally there is no feeling on my part. It should be considered an honor that your very extensively read, one-dollar-per-copy publication should even mention our union, and I want to assure you that I only write you now to show you that you are lending—unintentionally perhaps—by your false statements, aid and encouragement to those who would destroy our form of government, our relations between Capital and Labor, and everything for which honorable men in America have fought for and are contending for today, and amongst those men who are rendering great service to this end are the leaders of Labor. Those who do not understand would analyze the entire article as placing the stamp of disapproval on fair dealing and conservative action and on a determination to eliminate from the Labor Movement radicals and those who preach subversive doctrines, amongst them the Communists. The character and disposition of both myself and my associates has been formed; it cannot very well be changed. Our life's training is too thoroughly instilled into our blood. But such unjust treatment, such false and unfair statements as are contained in the May issue of FORTUNE magazine relative to the International Brotherhood of Teamsters are the seed from which has sprung hatred for the employing class, which has nourished and produced Communism and other hateful, un-American isms. And when they get control they pay back one hundred fold—an eye for any eye, a tooth for a tooth, a life for a life. The weakest and most dangerous condition in our American life of today is the blind refusal of many of the representatives of Capital, such as FORTUNE magazine, to understand that the world is and has changed; refusal to see the light and write the truth. The masses of American manhood have lost confidence in the American capitalistic system, as was demonstrated in the last three national elections. What it will all lead to is doubtful. One thing is certain, in my humble opinion; workers will pull down Capital rather than go back. False statements in the printed article embitter men. It does not help us who are trying so hard to keep the wheels of industry rolling and the banner of freedom flying in accordance with our American conception of freedom, liberty and justice.

Very truly yours,

DANIEL J. TOBIN,
General President.

NOTICE

WE ARE starting our Statistical Department in Washington beginning about the first of June. It will take us some time to get full speed. That Department will be sending out letters asking for information from local unions about their wages, hours, etc. It will be necessary for local unions to respond as soon as possible to these questions sent out. Help us and we will be able in time to help you. The federal government is also requesting International Unions, by legislation, to obtain from their local unions certain information relative to strikes, wage conditions, expenditures, etc. This has already been put under way by questionnaires sent out by the House Naval Affairs Committee asking for all kinds of information relative to the affairs of local unions, their finances, their officers, their strikes, whether the strikes have been on defense jobs or not, etc.

They not only ask for reports on strikes that have been endorsed by the International Union, but all strikes that have not been endorsed that have taken place within local unions. Affidavits on this information must be made by the heads of the International Union. It is a very serious problem. The danger now is that the government, because of strikes that have taken place in several industries, will undoubtedly enact legislation in which it will be charged as a crime to bring about a strike of any kind, especially in defense work, without reporting the entire situation to the International Union, and also whether or not attempts were made to bring about a settlement, even to the extent of referring the matter to governmental tribunals set up for that purpose. The situation is very serious, and local officers, as well as International Officers, also employers, will be confronted with a condition in the very near future which cannot be trifled with. The federal government intends, through its committees, such as the Naval Affairs Committee and other tribunals, to get into the very heart of every local union and find out what they are doing. Let me quote below some of the questions asked in the questionnaire sent out by the House Naval Affairs Committee:

Did the parties to the strike, etc., make any efforts to negotiate before it occurred? If so, give a brief description of (a) the demands originally made by each party, (b) the number of conferences between the parties, and (c) the concessions or counter-offers made by each party before the strike, etc., occurred.....

Did the United States Department of Labor or any state or local conciliation or mediation service make any effort to mediate the dispute before the strike, etc., occurred? If so, give a brief description of the mediation efforts and their results.....

Was the strike, etc., submitted to a vote of the employees before it was called?.....

If the answer to the preceding question is "yes," give the information called for below:

- (1) Were all employees in the unit allowed to participate in the vote?
- (2) Was the vote taken by secret ballot?.....
- (3) How was the vote conducted?.....
- (4) What percentage of the employees in the unit participated in the vote?
- (5) What were the results of the vote?.....

Was the Employer notified of the proposed strike, etc., before it occurred? If so, how much notice was given?.....

Initiation Fees, Dues, Etc.

Set forth (a) the initiation or entrance fees, (b) the permit fees and (c) the dues required or charged by the organization. (Charges for insurance, sick benefits, etc., may be segregated but must be stated in the answer to this and the succeeding question.)

Set forth (a) the initiation and entrance fees, (b) the permit fees and (c) the dues which were required or charged by the organization on October 1, 1939.....

Has the organization levied any special assessments or dues on its members during the year 1940? If so, state the amount as to each member and the purpose of the special assessment or dues

Give a brief but complete summary of the organization's assets and liabilities as of October 1, 1939.....

Give a brief but complete summary of the organization's assets and liabilities as of March 31, 1941.....

Give a brief but complete summary of the organization's receipts and disbursements during the period beginning October 1, 1939, and ending March 31, 1941, etc.....

There are many other questions asked that are quite difficult to answer. This is a Federal Committee. It cannot be disregarded. It indicates what we are coming to: It is what I have been directly referring to occasionally in my writings. When Government begins to look into your private business "Look out!" It keeps on creeping gradually, until it takes over. The Congress is now attempting this. This procedure has been helped by so many strikes and by other actions of Labor officials in recent months. All such contemplated legislation injures the innocent as well as the guilty. We are almost at war. We may be further involved, before long. The world is on fire. When war comes on a people they must submit to the State. We hope we will not come to this, to save our freedom. The skies are dark and clouded. Conditions throughout the world could not be much worse. Unions of workers are destroyed in most of the countries of the world. We must be careful. The freedom of future generations is dependent on us. We, the toilers, must not fail them.

President Tobin's Report Continued from April Issue

Unionism—Freedom and Democracy in Danger

THIS is a troubled, serious time in the history of our country and in the history of the world. On May 13, 1940, I delivered an address over the radio from the city of Washington and I said in that address, which was published in our official Journal, that at the ending of this war, no matter who the victor is, the countries engaged in the war will be so impoverished as a result of the destruction obtaining that men and women in all those countries will be forced into a condition almost bordering on slavery. As it appears to me now, that condition will obtain and will have a serious effect on our beloved United States. Call him what you will—a monster or conqueror has trampled on the free and democratic governments of Europe, and wherever he has conquered, he has crushed the people of those countries into a condition even worse than slavery. There is no safety even for the individual or the country that complies with the unmentionable conditions laid down of employment and servitude. On the least suspicion men and women are destroyed without trial or consideration. Over three hundred national labor officials and perhaps four thousand local officials have been secretly destroyed in Germany since the coming to power of the present leadership. It is safe to say that the people of Holland, Belgium, Poland, France, and those other countries that are subjected to the cruelties of the conqueror, will be treated even worse than those of Germany. When the Dictator Hitler started on his rampage of destruction immediately after coming into power, the first thing accomplished by him and his machine was to destroy the labor organizations, which were then strong, healthy, and enormously beneficial to the workers. And his next act was to remove by imprisonment, punishment or death, labor leaders who had the courage and patriotism to protest against the

destruction of their liberties. The funds and properties of all trade unions and their officials were confiscated. Capital in all the countries conquered by Hitler and his partners will also be confiscated, and no capitalist in Germany, Poland, Holland, France or Czechoslovakia can protest against the decisions of a government which tells business men what they must accept—or else. If they protest, they are incarcerated or destroyed. All the wealth of those countries has been taken over by the masters in order to satisfy the plundering and ravaging of this destroyer of human rights. They know no God except their own ambitions. They know nothing of humanity except the mad thirst to destroy. Whence will this lead our own country? Already billions have been appropriated by our government to increase our defenses. Those billions must come out of taxation. Increased taxation will increase operating expenses, thereby increasing the cost of production. The Dictators, supervising the industrial life of the countries of Europe, will have the power to make men and women work for any kind of wages they see fit to establish. It will not be a question of wages and hours for the workers of those conquered and trampled countries. It will be a question of getting enough to eat and being permitted to live in some form of safety, although in semi-slavery. The manufactured products of those countries will be dumped on the shores of every country in the American continent. Our manufacturers will not be able to compete with those slave-manufactured goods. What I fear is not an open attack immediately from the enemy, but I fear a destruction of our markets at home and in the adjacent countries. As far as our markets in European and Asiatic countries are concerned, it is safe to say they are now or will be practically destroyed. Free labor cannot compete with slave labor. Our South American markets will be the goal of the dictators of Europe. It is only human that men and countries buy wherever they obtain the best bargains. Where is our high-priced labor and our fair manufacturers going to be under those circumstances? If an industry cannot sell its manufactured products at some advantage or some profit, it will either cease to manufacture or endeavor to reduce its operating expenses. American labor has not been trained to accept setbacks. A general attempt made to reduce wages in order to hold part of the markets of our own and other countries will bring about serious disturbances in the labor organizations of our nation. It is possible that within the next two or three years serious stoppages of work will take place in an endeavor to prevent substantial reduction in wages, especially in employments that are underpaid. I call this serious condition to your consideration now so that you might prepare not only to defend yourself through thorough organization, but to educate your representatives and to train your mind to meet unpleasant conditions which may result at the ending of this conflict in Europe. At this writing there is only one country left that is fighting for the civilization that it has taken two thousand years to establish. If that country goes under—I refer to Great Britain and her colonies—then you can rest assured that mankind and womankind will be set back to a condition too terrible to contemplate at the present time.

Caution by Labor Necessary

Whatever I say in this report is for your advice and guidance, and in the hope that it may have some effect on your minds so that you can conduct your affairs when you leave here, to the end that you will be able to protect the interests of your union.

Our organizations have it in their blood that every time a wage contract expires there must be an increase in wages in the new contract. I now state to you that there is a point of saturation for wages and hours, and that if you go beyond that point, or even if you reach that point in some instances, you can rest assured if you go any further you will destroy the employment and thereby destroy yourselves. Those of us who worked twelve hours a day never thought we could establish the eight-hour day. Those of us who received twelve dollars a week never believed we could establish an almost universal wage of thirty-five to forty dollars per week. Still we find our members are not satisfied, and the pity of it all is that we find officers who will not courageously advise their members that they are treading on dangerous ground in demanding conditions and wages that the

industry cannot carry. We have had more than one experience where railroads have marked down the hauling of freight in order to recapture the work our truck drivers were doing. This was brought about because the truck drivers insisted on a wage that the truckmen could not carry and compete with the railroads. Yes, I understand, there are chiseling, unfair employers.

In this report I have referred to the building trades organizations, and as a member of the Executive Council of the National Trades Department, I repeat to you that in many trades in the building industry they retarded their own employment by raising their wages beyond a reasonable point; and that now, within the last year, they are reconsidering many of those wage contracts, and especially in suburban districts are they substantially reducing their wage scales.

Let us profit by the mistakes that others have made. A real representative of Labor, or a real executive board of any local union is a board that stands together, fighting not to hold the men back, but to hold their membership safely, with their feet on the ground, and not agree with them or go along with them when they demand the impossible. There should be an amendment to this Constitution, not empowering but compelling the International Union to put out of office local officers of our unions who encourage and foster and incite the membership towards asking for impossible conditions, thereby risking the destruction of the employment and the union. I have also been a business agent of a local union. I have served in many representative capacities for Labor during the past forty years, and I have found that the rank and file will eventually strongly support the representative of Labor who has the courage to lay the bare facts before the members, even though he disagrees with the majority. If we are selected as representative officers for any reason at all, it is because we have something in us in the form of leadership and courage. Honesty and simplicity, or craftiness and an attitude of say nothing are not entirely the qualities that make men leaders or that are beneficial to those they represent. It takes courage to disagree with men, even in their own interests. One of the weaknesses today amongst our local officers is the predominant desire to play the game safely for themselves and pursue the course of least resistance. Show me the men who have represented our unions for years without opposition, and I will prove to you that those men were leaders in the strict sense of the word and not men who just played their own game. If we are chosen to lead, we must lead, and from our experience and intelligence direct our people along the roads to safety to themselves and their families.

(To be continued)

CORRESPONDENCE

New York, N. Y., May 13, 1941.

Mr. Daniel J. Tobin,
222 E. Michigan St.
Indianapolis, Indiana.

Dear Friend Dan:

Thanks very much for the printed copy of your response to the statements contained in the May issue of FORTUNE magazine. I read both the article and your answer with great interest. Please accept my compliments for your constructive and forceful reply, and more than all else your courage and determination not to permit these false and misleading statements to stand unchallenged.

Somehow or other we seem to be living in a day and age when news writers, columnists, journalists and other writers of every sort find the Labor Movement and its officials a most convenient source for profitable exploitation. This, of course, includes Thurman Arnold, and his anti-trust prosecution. In my judgment we have been altogether too tolerant of the development of this policy and the extension of writers into the field of mis-

leading and untruthful charges about the Labor Movement. I realize, of course, we all have weaknesses and I realize too that these writers have the advantage for the moment. It is also true that some of our people are fearful of answering some of these statements because of resultant consequences and by reason of the advantage these writers have. Nevertheless, I am convinced that a policy of acquiescence presents greater dangers, first in that our general membership ultimately will come to believe there is truth in these misleading, false charges which have remained unanswered, and secondly to repeat a lie over and over again without its being challenged creates an impression that what is said may be true.

When I previously referred to your courageous answer I had just that in mind. Again let me say how keenly and deeply I appreciated both the spirit and letter of your response.

With kind regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

MATTHEW WOLL.

WE HAVE repeatedly said to the representatives of the Department of Justice that if we are guilty of committing crimes or violating federal laws, it is up to the government to take us into the courts; but we do object strongly to having a paid representative of the government, after a case has been decided by the federal courts, going around the country and delivering lectures about the cruelty of the Teamsters in holding up employers and in compelling dealers to hold up the prices of certain commodities. That, to our mind, is ignoble, indecent, unreal, unethical, and furthermore it never happened before. Why any paid representative of the government should be allowed to criticize our union, or any union, when they have been upheld by the courts of the land in their actions, is more than we can understand. Still we are informed this is happening just now, and certain national publications are publishing—and undoubtedly are paying for—written articles denouncing certain actions of a certain few local unions. And in most instances those actions have been declared as legal.

WE UNDERSTAND another group of truck owners in some of the Southern States are again laying the ground work for a merger. Some of them were involved in the last application for a merger that the Interstate Commerce Commission set aside. Well, when the time comes we shall continue to oppose mergers, large mergers, which, we have reason to believe, are only created and promoted to help certain financial interests and truck owners who want to unload on the public their equipment for four times the amount they put into the business. Mergers in this country have brought about the destruction of the business involved. Shippers everywhere should oppose mergers in the trucking business because as soon as the merger takes place, or shortly afterwards, rates will be gradually increased. Workers will be laid off here and there, and a substantial return on the investment—watered investment—must be provided for.

Official Magazine of the
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